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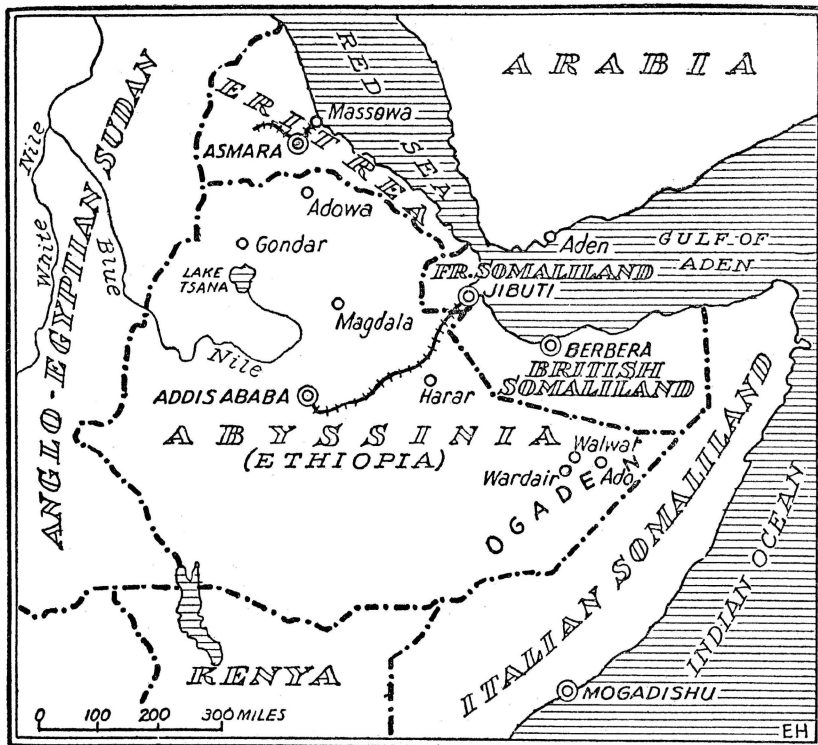
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Italy's Aims in Abyssinia



The relations between Italy and Abyssinia gave rise early in May to really acute anxiety on the part of other powers, and for the first time caused a serious crisis at Geneva.

This anxiety was engendered at bottom by the obscurity that envelops Italy's intentions. It is said that the whole Italian demonstration against Abyssinia is a personal undertaking of Mussolini's, entered upon against the advice of Italian experts. But exactly what does it represent? Does he purpose the subjugation and annexation of Abyssinia? Does he intend merely to intimidate the Abyssinian tribes by a show of force and wring from them substantial concessions—say a band of territory to connect Eritrea with Italian Somaliland, with trading privileges? Or is he, as he now and then hints, a sincere lover of peace, who has sent enormous forces into Africa simply because he has been rendered nervous by the heavy Abyssinian purchases of arms, the mobilization of Abyssinian forces and the hostility of many Abyssinian chieftains to the drawing of a

new boundary? There are few who accept this third hypothesis. The choice lies between the first two, and the indications have thickened that Mussolini is bent upon conquest and annexation in the face of world sentiment.

There is an absurd disproportion between Italian grievances and the Italian thunder of speeches, newspaper broadsides and warlike preparations. One set of grievances has to do with border clashes between Italian and Ethiopian levies like that at Walwal. These are pin-pricks. The French have peaceably endured much worse marauding raids on the Moroccan and other frontiers for many years. The British authorities in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, to use a more forcible comparison, have for decades suffered in far greater degree from uncontrolled Ethiopian tribes and have spent huge sums in patrolling their frontier without losing their temper. They have done so because they recognize that the Abyssinian Government has honestly done its best to control the turbulent raiders.

The other set of Italian grievances has to do with the undefined boundary and with disputed jurisdiction over certain wells at Walwal, Afdub and other border spots. It is said that official Italian maps as recently as 1925 placed the disputed area well within the Abyssinian boundary. But even if the Italian claim is good, the wells are simply brackish watering-places in a treeless, thorny scrub, sparsely populated, arid and of very slight value even for grazing. And, whatever the line, tribesmen on both sides of it could amicably water their flocks in common at the wells, as they have done for centuries past.

The apprehension and antagonism which the Italian movement has aroused in Great Britain and France have various roots. In part it springs from sympathy with weak little Abyssinia as she faces her powerful enemy. In part it is motivated by a conviction that the League, to which France got Abyssinia admitted some years ago, must be upheld. But there are more realistic considerations.

Under the Tripartite Agreement of 1906, Great Britain, France and Italy pledged themselves to respect Abyssinian independence, but also marked off for themselves certain spheres of influence. The French reserved certain rights in connection with the railroad from Jibuti to Addis Ababa. The British put in a caveat against any foreign control over Lake Tsana, one of the sources of the Blue Nile. And the Italians made it clear that if anything happened to Abyssinian independence they would regard Southern Abyssinia as their spoil. This Tripartite Treaty was modified by the recent Italo-French agreement, by which Italy received a share in the Jibuti-Addis Ababa railroad. But France and Great Britain do not want an Italian conquest to obliterate their rights in Abyssinia. Nor do they want Italy to involve herself in Africa in a fashion that would weaken the Anglo-Franco-Italian front against Germany.

That front might be weakened in either of two ways. If an Italo-Abyssinian war breaks out, it might well consume more energy than Italy expects and leave her financially exhausted. No informed observer doubts that the war would be costly in blood and money and doubtful in result. The mountainous terrain, the hot climate and the fierce fighting temper of the Ethiopian tribesmen would combine to make military operations on a large scale difficult, with a possibility of heavy reverses. But the solidarity of the League powers might be broken in another way. If the League exerted itself to the utmost to restrain Italy from war, it might inspire the resentful Mussolini to withdraw. The result might be to throw Mussolini and Hitler together. The Italian press has already

displayed an extraordinary antagonism toward Great Britain. It must be remembered that Mussolini cannot afford to lose heavily in prestige, for that would react upon the already nervous internal situation in Italy. Whichever way men look, the problem raised by Mussolini in impetuously embarking upon this African adventure has grave dangers.

The critical phase dates from May 7. On that day Mussolini ordered the mobilization of the entire 1913 class of recruits, 200,000 strong, for African service, and warned his people of "the gravity of the situation." Simultaneously the Under-Secretary for the Colonies (Mussolini himself is Colonial Minister) declared it abhorrent that "a slave-holding, barbarous land" like Ethiopia should rule so much of Africa.

Diplomatic consultations were held on May 10 in both London and Paris. The British and French press, alarmed by the Italian preparations, began speaking of informal representations in Rome, of joint pressure and even of "intervention." This inspired Mussolini to treat the Italian Senate on May 14 to a fiery "hands off" address. He made it clear that he was irritated by the Anglo-French consultation. Italy, he said, would send as many troops to Africa as she pleased; he intended to take too many precautions for the safety of his colonies rather than too few; Italy would certainly brook no advice, much less interference, in so delicate a matter. He spoke significantly of the peril of harboring any "illusions" about the chances of a peaceful outcome.

This ominous speech found still more ominous echoes in the well-trained Italian press. It began reiterating certain ideas like a great sounding-board. It spoke of the sinfulness of various nations, France as well as Germany, in sending arms to Ethiopia. It assailed the hypocrisy of the British in objecting to Italian mobilization when they themselves were arming the Sudan frontier. It asserted that the savage slaveholders of Abyssinia are a blot upon African civilization. It declared that England and France should rejoice to see Italy put an end to the Abyssinian menace to their own colonies. It assailed the Ethiopian Government for not appointing commissioners of conciliation under the treaty of 1928.

These newspaper outbursts were as inaccurate as they were venomous. Germany denied any shipments of arms to Abyssinia. Great Britain denied arming the Sudan frontier. Ethiopia has been attempting to abolish slavery; on May 18 the Emperor Haile Selassie, by sweeping decree, abolished serfdom throughout the land. It will take some time to enforce this decree among the feudal chieftains, but a beginning has been made. As for conciliation, the Abyssinians on May 17 named their own commissioners to meet two Italians already selected. Their representatives are an American, Pitman B. Potter, and a Frenchman, Albert de la Pradelle. But the Italian Government had already hamstrung the commission. It insisted that the body must confine its inquiry to the Walwal border incident, and avoid all consideration of the delimitation of the frontier and the interpretation of border treaties—the really important issues.

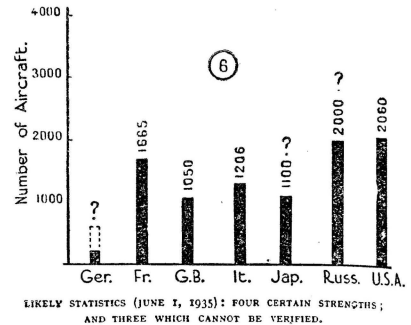
The Air Armaments Race AS SEEN THROUGH FRENCH EYES.—1

By HENRI BOUCHE

The article here begun, and to be continued next month, was published by "L'Illustration," of Paris, and its translation appeared in the Illustrated London News. The illustrations, and the descriptions of those illustrations, are from the same source. For the rest, it is only necessary to add that "L'Illustration" vouches for the fact that the author bases his arguments solely on public documents, either official or private, which are accessible to anyone who is desirous of judging and understanding a question which has assumed vital proportions.

Every great nation in Europe is now convinced, as a result of the action of its Press and of the decisions reached by its Government, that its only means of salvation lies in the speediest possible development of its power in the air. Outside Europe, public opinion in the United States

and in Japan reveals the same attitude of mind. The smaller Powers are compelled to follow suit, whether they like it or not. The "Air Armaments Race" has started, and, in a large measure, continues owing to the conviction of the peoples themselves,



The whole Italian attitude, and particularly the cant about Abyssinian barbarism, looked like war. The lamb may well tremble when the wolf begins to blacken its character. The result was a bold display of leadership by Captain Eden at the eighty-sixth meeting of the League Council, beginning at Geneva on May 20. It was impossible for the League to shirk its duties. Viscount Cecil of Chelwood in a noble speech of May 16 made it clear that its friends would not permit that. Moreover, the British and French Governments held that Mussolini had made promises at the Stresa conference which gave them a right to advise Italy. Eden and the Italian representative, Baron Pompeo Aloisi, arrived in Geneva on May 19. Next day the Emperor Haile Selassie appealed to the League in a dramatic cablegram to protect his domain against Italian aggression; and Eden and Aloisi began their private talks.

Finding that Mussolini, to whom Aloisi told such blunt truths as to imperil his own career, was adamant, Captain Eden appealed to Pierre Laval, the French Foreign Minister, for assistance. It was Laval who had signed the pact of Rome with Mussolini on Jan. 8 of this year—the pact that gave Italy certain concessions in East Africa. He was therefore in a position to deal boldly with Mussolini, and he came to Eden's assistance in vigorous fashion. The two men warned the Italian dictator that if he did not yield, the League would take up the dispute under Article XV, and after full inquiry publish its findings to the world. Italy can hardly afford to have her African designs made the subject of a condemnatory report. For three days, May 22-24, the world waited to learn if and how Mussolini would yield. Then, on May 25, it learned that late the previous night he had given in and accepted two resolutions which the Council had at once passed.

The League thus achieved one of the signal triumphs of its recent history. Under the resolutions, Italy and Abyssinia are to have until July 25 to settle their quarrel in accordance with the conciliation plan provided by the treaty of 1928. If they fail, the Council then meets and names a neutral arbitrator to join the previous conciliators in effecting an agreement. If the

dispute then drags on until Aug. 25, the Council will take it over entirely.

Triumphant though the League was, the decision represented a compromise. Mussolini was compelled to recognize the League's jurisdiction; the British and French were forced to grant Italy's demand that for the present she deal alone with Abyssinia. Moreover, though the news dispatches said that the Conciliation Commission would consider the whole dispute, nothing in the resolutions showed that they would go beyond the Walwal incident. The compromise may prove dangerous. Italy can increase her forces to bulldoze Haile Selassie. If she wants to she can easily bring about some border incidents and suddenly present the League with the accomplished fact of war. The most reassuring feature of the situation as the League left it is that the rainy season will not end until September, some days after the Council is scheduled to take over the dispute, if unsettled, and active warfare is impossible in the rainy season.

Yet it still looked as if Mussolini wanted war, for hardly had the delegates left Geneva on May 25 than the dictator made a new and more threatening speech to the Chamber of Deputies. This may have been a face-saving gesture after his concessions, but it looked rather like an assurance to the Italian people that the concessions meant nothing. He fiercely indicted Abyssinia for two horrible crimes—she had begun in 1929 to reorganize her army, and in 1930 to manufacture munitions of war! He called the Italian people to the defense of Eritrea and Somaliland. He spoke of the fact that the pending conciliation would be limited to the Walwal incident, and said again that "no one should nourish too many illusions on the subject." He declared that Abyssinia must not remain a pistol pointed perennially at the Italian head. And he closed by saying that Italy was "ready to assume all, even the supreme responsibility." All this may have been rhetoric. The unhappy probability is that it is the prelude to another episode like the outrage upon Greece at Corfu. Europe succeeded in stopping that outrage. Can it stop the one now being planned? A. N.

Current History, New York, July, 1935

Naturally, this conviction is based primarily on each nation's certainty that its own particular strength in the air is inexcusably weak and that that of the national Air Forces likely to be opposed to it is incomparably greater. It is evident that this dual contention cannot be equally true, at any one time, of all the leading air Powers of the world. It is interesting, therefore, to note how certain contradictions may, in the eyes of this public, assume almost the proportions of a dogma.

I.—How Air Forces Are Compared

"Comparison," says the proverb, "is not proof." We shall demonstrate by a single example that this is particularly the case in comparing Air Forces. We take this remote case in order that debate may not become too heated. Moreover, as we are concerned with a document which asserts the aerial inferiority of a great nation, we are glad that this nation should be the United States of America: the readers of *L'Illustration* are sufficiently acquainted with aviation to know that the expanse, the political unity, the industrial and technical power, the intense activity of interior communications, and, finally, the fearless character of the great American Republic in every sphere of life including that of public finance, have led to the growth of an Air Force which is justly admired; and that, moreover, this natural effort is regarded in Europe without apprehension—a fact which guarantees a sounder judgment.

However this may be, in the spring of 1934, synchronising with the campaigns conducted in Great Britain and France, public opinion in the United States began to denounce the inferiority of American aviation and demand its renovation. Among the leaders of the movement, one of the most active and, apparently, the most authoritative was Mr. W. D. MacFarlane, a Deputy from Texas, who, on March 8, published in the "Congressional Record"—the equivalent of the French "Journal Officiel"—the following statements, which were immediately taken up and passionately amplified by the Press:

"The Aerial Forces of the United States are the third as regards numbers (after Great Britain and France); and, perhaps, even the sixth, so close are Italy, Soviet Russia, and Japan behind them. They are the sixth, and, perhaps, the eighth, in the number of specialised factories designed to supply them. They are far and away the last according to the general conception of aircraft and engines, both in service and projected. None of their aircraft—even the best—is capable of overtaking foreign aircraft of the same class, in order to engage them in battle.

It may be said, therefore, that, comparatively, they have not a single war machine and have no hope of obtaining one at an early date. Undoubtedly they could be brought down or reduced to impotency by the Belgian Military Air Force or by thirty per cent. of the British Air Force, forty per cent. of the French Air Force, or fifty per cent. of the Italian, Japanese, or Russian Air Forces. Assuming that foreign countries ceased to make progress, they would require at least two years to make up their arrears, even with the aid of foreign licences, and three or four years without such licences. Yet, what country in the

world has greater riches to defend than the United States?"

At the same time, General William Mitchell, the former Chief of the American Military Air Force, referring to the statements made by Mr. MacFarlane during a lecture he gave in New York before the Foreign Policy Association, described them as "expert evidence," and begged the "man of courage" at the White House "resolutely to set right a desperate aeronautic situation."

Later on, when we come to deal briefly with the position of the United States Air Force, we shall see what should have been thought of these "cries of alarm," particularly in a country separated from any aerial aggressor by thousands of miles of sea. But, at the same moment, assertions almost on a par with them were being made on platforms and before Parliamentary Commissions in all the big countries, and were being amplified by the Press and thrust on public opinion.

The statement of the Deputy for Texas does, at least, give us the "chief counts of the indictment" which are invoked both over here and there: insufficient strength; wrongful retention in service of obsolete equipment; backwardness of technique; weakness of the national industry; and the special need for protection. The only item missing is inadequate Budget estimates.

The Comparison of First-Line Strengths

Without a strict definition of terms, the comparison of air strengths is particularly devoid of meaning. Some idea of this will be gained from the six diagrams grouped together under the title "Misleading Figures: Contrasting Comparisons of Air Strengths." It is, in fact, possible for one and the same Air Force to express the strength of its military aircraft by figures ranging from single to treble, according to whether that strength is considered as:

The regulation strength of first-line tactical units (squadrons);

Or this strength plus the reserve units known as "immediate reserve";

Or this new total plus the number of war aircraft (similar to those of the tactical units) which are in service at a given time in training establishments and testing or

instructional centres;

Or, again, this third total plus stock machines.

For the great European Powers, these four possible strengths are at present approximately in the ratio of 100; 125; 175; 350. The "immediate reserves" and the "stocks" (mobilisation reserves) undoubtedly possess military value; but it may be said that the more certain the country is of its industrial power the lower "stocks" can and should be. Moreover, stocks and reserves are particularly valuable in the case of prolonged hostilities, or, at least, of hostilities, begun while every endeavour to prevent an outbreak is still being made. The most interesting strength for the purpose of a first comparison is, therefore, that of the aircraft which form the normal equipment of the tactical units. This strength, indeed, is the only one that can be employed without delay—either for surprise attack or counter-attack—by the *trained and specialised flying personnel* attached to the squadrons.

From this point of view—and supposing (which is not very probable) that all military aircraft are of value—how is one to classify the strengths of the military Air Forces whose presumed or certain predominance influences the programmes of the great Powers? We have endeavoured to answer this question by the last of the diagrams in the group "Comparisons of Air Strengths."

In the case of four out of the seven countries considered, this diagram is based on official documents: the first-line air strengths admitted by the authorities are: 1665 for France; 1050 for Great Britain; 1206 for Italy; and 2060 for the United States of America. For Japan we have suggested a figure which does not claim to be anything more than probable; moreover, even if this were doubled, it would not cause anxiety to anyone in Europe. For Soviet Russia we have assumed a strength of 2000 aircraft; and even this figure seems to us to be in excess of what the Russian Military Air Force could *put into action* at the beginning of a campaign and (especially) maintain in the line. We ourselves say nothing of Germany; we leave those to speak who, better informed or more venturesome, believe themselves able to estimate her strength.

The Illustrated London News

Resettling America: A Fourfold Plan

By R. G. TUGWELL,

Resettlement Administrator and Under-Secretary of Agriculture.

Along a winding, narrow road out of Morgantown, in West Virginia, a wooden sign captures your eye. In black letters against a white background you read:

**LIBERTY,
Unincorporated.**

A short distance after entering the hamlet, set on a rugged hill, you turn down a deep grade and cross sulphur-laden Scotts Run. This mountain stream washes a large area of the State's mining region. The waste of the mines dumps into its rocky bed.

Here you are in the heart of a stranded mining community. Rows of weather-stained shacks stretch along the bank of Scotts Run and up the hills to the side. It is almost impossible to realize, even in times of economic stress, that such conditions exist in America. People don't live, they barely exist. They are huddled in tiny rooms practically bare of furniture. When night comes many stretch a blanket on the floor and lie down on the hard boards.

The Summer sun beats down on tin roofs. The heat inside is almost unbearable. Cracks in the thin walls are no protection against the blasts of Winter. As you approach, undernourished, frightened children scamper to their mother's side. Their faces and bodies are emaciated and

Greetings to the Pole Star Monthly Readers from the Author of the Bibliography of L. Hearn

It is indeed a rare pleasure to be allowed to greet the readers of the Pole Star Monthly, with all of whom there is a common ground of interest—Japanese studies.

In America there has been accumulating for some time an increasing desire to know Japan, not the exaggerated figure created by some unreliable hack writer but the true Japan, both past and present. The Hokuseido Press has and is still amply filling this need not only because of the authoritative texts which it prints, but also because its books are printed, illustrated and bound in a style worthy of representing Japan to Americans. Thus the Hokuseido Press, which has done so much to keep alive the writings and life of Lafcadio Hearn, has entered another field—that of building International Goodwill.

In speaking of Lafcadio Hearn I hope it will not be out of place to say that I wish to prepare a supplement to the Bibliography which was issued some time ago by Hokuseido, in order to include many publications recently issued, many books and particularly magazines and newspapers which were omitted, and also to correct any errors. To this end, I should appreciate if the readers of the Pole Star Monthly would advise me of any material which should be included, and when possible I should like to personally look over the copies. Because of Hearn's long residence in Japan there must be many letters of his which are not generally known and many books inscribed by him to friends. Of these I should especially like to know.

One important factor in the field of scholarship as well as International Goodwill is the organization during the past few years of influential societies for cultural research. Among these and outstanding in their importance are the Kokusai Bunka Shinkokai, with its influential directors and most active secretary, and in America the Committee on Far Eastern Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies in Washington, D. C., and the Society for Oriental Studies at Claremont Colleges, California. These three institutions have already accomplished much in publishing aids to research, monographs on important subjects, etc.

The Society for Oriental Studies at Claremont is preparing to assist in the publication of a volume of



Mr. P. D. Perkins, who has recently been appointed professor of English at the Dai-San-Koto-Gakko, Kyoto.

Kyogen plays translated into English by Dr. Shio Sakanishi of the Library of Congress. Other manuscripts, such as the Journal of William Sproston, a seaman with Commodore Perry on his expedition to Japan, are under consideration. These and other valuable contributions to history and literature are being developed by both Japanese and Americans, but there is still more work to be done. There are

many professors and teachers in Japanese and American schools who might gain recognition by utilizing their leisure hours for such study.

More biographical works in English are needed to tell of famous Japanese personages, such as the Life of Admiral Togo, the Autobiography of Fukuzawa Yukichi, and The Nine Magazines of Kodansha, published recently. The chronicle of the day by day lives of these three men has done much to acquaint Americans with real Japan. Other intimate pictures in English of the struggles and triumphs of Japan's famous statesmen, writers, scientists and business leaders would be eagerly read by Americans.

My own first impression of Japan is a picture of the very old, side by side with the very new. In Tokyo for example I saw a rickshaw standing in front of an apartment house of extreme modernistic architecture. A 1935 model automobile passes over

the ancient moat. The tofu peddler pauses in traffic beside a motor service car which advertises a modern automobile mechanism. Thus the very old accentuates the modernity of the very new and causes the visitor to more thoroughly enjoy the sights he sees.

During the next three years that I am to be in Japan I hope that I can be of service to Japanese scholars desiring material for their research from America, or who plan to visit that country for study. As Research Fellow and Special Representative to Japan for the Society for Oriental Studies at Claremont Colleges, it is a part of my duties to throw open their facilities to Japanese institutions of learning and their staff members. At the same time I hope to visit Japanese schools and universities and meet their faculty in order that I may bring back to America a clear picture of the progress Japan is making in that field.

P. D. PERKINS.

hollow. Economic disaster has ground them down, dangerously impaired their health, robbed them of a normal, decent existence.

* * *

In the general area of Scotts Run are 5,000 miners. Some of them manage to obtain a day or two of work a week in the pits. That will not supply sufficient food for a family, let alone the things that most of us regard as common necessities.

Even if the mining industry suddenly should revive, thousands of miners never could go back to regular employment. Re-

liable surveys indicate there is a surplus of at least 200,000 miners scattered in hundreds of Scotts Runs over the country.

What is going to be their fate? Obviously, these economic refugees cannot be allowed to starve. Obviously, they cannot remain forever in stricken communities. The human and economic sacrifice is too great. America's economic refugees thus are of primary concern to the Resettlement Administration. The problem facing us falls into four general categories:

First—Retirement of substandard land from production as part of a nation-wide

conservation program and removal of the people to areas where they can become economically self-sufficient.

Second—Relocation of standard rural groups in self-help agricultural-industrial communities.

Third—Resettlement of industrial populations in suburban communities to improve the housing conditions of low-income groups.

Fourth—Rehabilitation of farm families in place, that is, chiefly by loans for necessary livestock, seeds and equipment.

* * *

On every hand is compelling evidence of the necessity for economic relocation. Great sections of our population, through no fault of their own, have been reduced to disastrously low levels. Look at the relief rolls.

It is not alone in the cities and towns that the problem is acute. Millions of our people live in sordid, unhealthy rural slums or are engaged in the hopeless task of scratching out an existence on soil which has lost its fertility. Unless we make a serious, planned effort at conservation, countless other farms through erosion, by wind or water, will become barren and useless.

As a nation we have been wantonly profligate in dissipating our real wealth—the land. We have exhausted the frontiers.

The hope for future expansion of American agriculture and industry lies in raising the living standards of all the people. Naturally, the major phase of this development must be increased income. The people in the country's Scotts Runs, on dry farms, on denuded cut-over lands, in hill-side shacks, offer a vast potential market for the products of American factories. Here is a market at home we have hardly begun to develop.

In numerous parts of the nation tens of thousands of farm families have a cash income of less than \$200 a year. Suppose by wise and humane readjustment this yearly average could be increased to \$500 or \$600, that is, trebled. Smoke would start to roll from factories now black and idle. Unemployment lines would dwindle.

But economic betterment would not be all. Think what it would mean to the national well-being in terms of health and happiness and broad social gains. The economic underprivileged of America, denied opportunities, are not equipped to adjust themselves in today's complex civilization. They must have assistance while on the road to independence.

The Resettlement Administration has no illusions about resettling the United States overnight, in a week, a month or a year. The forces of destruction have been too long a work. The problem requires patience and sympathetic understanding. Moreover, none is so wise as to be able to lay down inflexible rules.

What we hope to do is to make a start toward providing an assured and permanent source of income for individuals in substandard groups. An important method will be through cooperative agricultural communities. Let us look at one of the demonstration projects.

* * *

The Resettlement Administration purchases a tract of land in a farming community. It is sufficient, say, to handle 500 families. That means at least 500 jobs must be available. The families are taken from areas where they are unable to make a living. They will come principally from relief lists.

A cooperative agricultural association, independently established by the families themselves, is formed immediately. The Resettlement Administration constructs 500 houses, of four to five rooms, attractively designed. The homes are located on a village pattern, that is, grouped together

on ordinary-sized lots. In the village are schools, community halls, recreation centre, barber shops, stores—the usual buildings and activities of any small town.

In addition there are small plants and factories, operated by the cooperative association, such, for instance, as a canning factory, a furniture factory, a machine shop, a brick plant, handicraft shops. In other words, facilities are available to process the products of the farm and the forest.

Encircling the village may be the cooperative farm and the pasturage. The type of agricultural activities, of course, will depend on the location. It is desirable, however, to grow those crops which can be processed, canned and sold as one of the chief revenue producers of the cooperative community. But all the eggs are not in one basket. Income will be derived both from agricultural and industrial occupations.



Here you have a community which, in a relatively brief period of time, should be moderately self-sufficient. The members would be adequately able to make monthly payments on their houses to reimburse the Federal Government for its initial outlays. There would be money for food, clothing and pleasures. In village groupings of this sort, it is feasible to provide for as many as 2,000 families on each project.

For insecurity you have substituted security. For disease and squalor you have substituted health and normal living conditions. You have opened up opportunities where none existed before. You have converted a liability into an economic asset.

* * *

Communities of this character will perhaps be subjected to initial attack from selfish, short-sighted groups, especially those whose rapacious spoliation in the past has contributed largely to the present human and economic suffering. However, as understanding of the real character of the resettlement communities becomes general a widespread acceptance and support of the work is anticipated.

The Resettlement Administration is fortunate at the outset in the broad, practical and nonpartisan interest and cooperation which its program has enlisted from all groups and all sections of our population. This is partly because the cooperative approach to solution of our problems, whether by groups or communities, is the antithesis of dictatorship and is typically American.

This is particularly true in that it does not put the government into competitive business but simply lends official support and cooperation with associations of citi-

zens who desire to assert their inalienable right to engage in productive enterprise.

While such cooperative communities will be subject to the controls of AAA on the basic agricultural commodities which they produce, the Resettlement Administration's policy of balancing new lands thus brought into cultivation with the retirement of submarginal lands from agricultural production will prevent these cooperative enterprises from bringing about a contradiction of policy.

Best of all, from the standpoint of husbanding our national resources and protecting the national credit, this method will save money to the Federal Treasury and to the taxpayers. Federal advances to the cooperatives will be repaid, whereas funds expended, as now, on direct relief do not return to the Treasury.

* * *

This is but one aspect of the program of the Resettlement Administration. None contends we can make more than a beginning in relieving the plight of disadvantaged farm groups. What we can and will do is to demonstrate and guide and help.

Withdrawal of substandard land from cultivation is not a new thought or a new effort. For the first time, however, this administration is trying to direct the movement along sane, common-sense lines.

It is a natural phenomenon with which we are dealing. Dead acres are going out of production anyway. The administration merely seeks in this regard to prevent the population retreat from becoming a rout.

All of us vividly recall the drought and choking dust storms and ruinous floods of the last few years. This year the destruction was unusually severe. Many are too prone to attribute the cause to individual farmers. They should not have turned parched grass lands into frugal wheat fields. They should not have overgrazed, wasted pasturage.

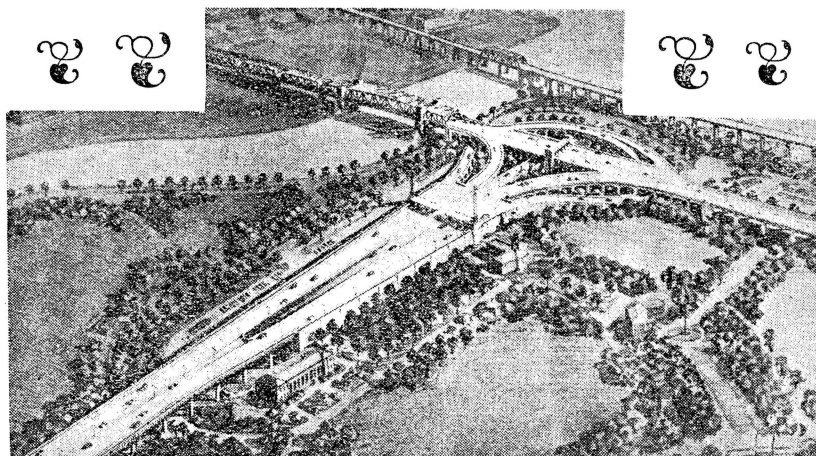
But how could the individual farmer, trying to eat and to live decently, have done much differently under the circumstances? And by the same token, how can the individual farmer do much to correct existing conditions? The obvious answer is, he cannot.

The retreat from substandard land must follow orderly economic processes, and, moreover, it has to be a cooperative endeavor. The problem has to be viewed and solved on a national scale, with the intimate step-by-step cooperation of State authorities.

The administration is not going to drive people off the land. None will be moved except on a voluntary basis. It will not be necessary to use force. The job will be to handle the vast numbers of people in backward agricultural communities who are pleading for newer opportunities, for a chance to help themselves.

It is simply not true that these families prefer to exist amid the poverty and destitution of their old homes rather than to move to more suitable areas. All you have to do is to go out to the substandard areas to explode any such theory. When the Federal Government purchases land for retirement and conservation, the inhabitants of the area will be afforded every

A Triborough Giant Flings Out Its Steel Arms



By H. I. BROCK

As you look down upon the map of New York, three grand divisions of the city approach one another about Hell Gate and two islands stand like stepping-stones in the triangle of water that separates them. There today you may see a procession of piers—in scattered detachments, with odd intervals—making its way across the tangle of land and water from where built-up city streets stop to where they begin again. These piers mark the track of the Triborough Bridge, now so far along that it is expected to be a going, toll-collecting concern before the Autumn leaves start falling in 1936.

It is called "bridge" in the title of the

opportunity to become established in their new surroundings.

It is a costly charge to States and counties to provide such services as roads and schools for inhabitants in isolated, inaccessible regions. The tax revenue does not begin to cover the expense of the ordinary community services. For instance, it is estimated that certain counties in Northern Wisconsin would save an average of \$400 a year for every isolated family whose submargined land was purchased and who was assisted in moving to more profitable acres closer to population centres.

The work of the Resettlement Administration will not be confined to any particular sections of the country. The ills we seek to cure exist everywhere, in depressed coal regions of the East and Middle West, on dying cotton lands of the South, on dry lands of the West and Southwest, on the cut-over timber areas of the North and Northwest.

The remedial policies must be conceived on a broad national scale, with the program carefully planned and carried out in the best interests of all the people. We are all affected by economic sore spots.

* * *

The Resettlement Administration, by executive order of the President, has absorbed the activities of the Subsistence Homestead Division of the Department of the Interior and the rural rehabilitation work of the Federal Emergency Relief Administration. Thus we start with a going

State Authority which is charged with building it, and is using for the purpose some \$43,000,000 of the Federal Government's money: \$8,000,000 a direct grant and the rest on loan against the future tolls. But it is really a gigantic mechanism of communication, linking Manhattan, the Bronx and Queens Boroughs, and tying together Long Island and the Continent of North America.

More incidents of the mechanism are four bridges over four tidal waterways. Yet one of these bridges, flung over the East River at Hell Gate, is a suspension bridge more than half a mile long between massive concrete anchorages. It has two 355 foot steel towers nearly 500 yards apart, and the swirling water lies more than 135

concern. In addition, there are approximately 350,000 farm families being rehabilitated in place. It is felt that with proper assistance they can be placed on an independent basis.

During its operations the Subsistence Homesteads Division of the Department of the Interior made plans for some seventy homestead projects in various parts of the country. Work is now actively under way on thirty-two of the projects, for which \$6,000,322.24 thus far has been appropriated.

The Federal Emergency Relief Administration approved thirty-nine rural community developments, and construction has been started on more than twenty. Four of the projects were retained by the FERA to complete construction before being turned over to the Resettlement Administration.

Several new projects, rural and suburban, are being prepared. Many of the projects transferred to the Resettlement Administration will be enlarged, developed into cooperative agricultural communities. We shall not proceed recklessly or wastefully. We shall go forward with the cooperation of State, county and local authorities. They understand the problems of the localities. Here in Washington we shall help. We shall not dictate.

Our fundamental task is to assist the President in removing 3,500,000 families from the relief rolls and keeping them off permanently.

The New York Times Magazine, July 28, 1935

feet below the eight-lane swinging roadway.

Nineteen miles of traffic-handling machinery represents the over-all measurement, which includes the approaches in the three boroughs, with their devices for sorting and dividing streams of traffic so that they will neither meet nor cross. The triple communications-handler proper is a sprawling structure set on substantial concrete arches, with three great arms that add up to three and a half miles of length. From the point where all three join on Randall's Island, one arm is thrust out to Manhattan. One extends to the Bronx. One reaches clean across Ward's Island to Queens. Each borough is thus grasped or grappled by its own through traffic system and all are held firmly together.

* * *

The heart of the monster—the centre of the huge machine—is the traffic-sorting device at the junction of the arms. Built on a great scale, it is so contrived that everything on wheels, going any one of six ways back and forth among the boroughs, has a clear lane with a green light always ahead—so to speak. Everybody, going anywhere in any lane, has to pass a toll-booth. But nobody has to pass more than one. Since Randall's Island is to be made into a park when all the charitable institutions that have harbored there are finally cleared out, ramps leading down to the island itself are included in the set-up.

This junction—it is called that—has yet to be built, like so much of the project. But when it is completed the main artery from the Bronx to Queens and vice versa will run straight through it. On one broad deck will be carried four lanes of traffic, each way, with a four-foot strip dividing the opposing streams of vehicles.

The arm at right angles to the other two is the one that serves Manhattan. This will carry three lanes of traffic each way, so led around on curving inclined roadways (properly banked on the turns) that if you are going from Manhattan to the Bronx you pass under the main deck of the straightaway before you get on it. And if you are coming from Queens to Manhattan, again you turn out and go under, so as to get on the Manhattan arm.

The plans call for a considerable spreading out of the deck space at the junction where, for convenience, all the toll-booths are set. One row of booths, serving ten lanes, stretches across the main or Bronx-Queens line. One row, serving twelve lanes (the Randall's Island traffic has to be allowed for) is lined up across the Manhattan arm, just short of the junction point.

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編輯室から

数ヶ月前忽然として外部の人が誰れも殆んど知らない間に天から降つて来た様に起きた問題が正體の分らない間に重大化して來て歐洲政局を近來頻りに緊張させて居る。事の起りだと云はれたツルツルとか何だとか、何の事やら知らない間に火付の作用をつとめて了つた。我等何ちがいの悪いのと云ふ程關心的で火が此處まで迫つて居るのに知らないですまして居るのもモドかしい、とあつて、外國雑誌からの記事を其儘に轉載して置いた。

近來頻りに、英國が今秋頃軍縮會議を招集するだつと云ふ、噂が立つ。其等の風説が信憑すべきものかすべからざるものにしても、兎にも角にも、多分英國の手で軍縮會議が招集されるであらう事は殆ど必然的な勢になつて居る。本誌は昨冬から今春にかけて日英米三國の海軍通の海軍々縮觀を數回に亘つて載せたが、今度は一、二回に亘つて空軍問題を載つける事にした。

膨大なる經濟計畫米國の N. R. A. は、憲法上の違憲問題から巨大なる計畫の大部分は崩壊されて了つたが、殘されて居る各種の事業の中特に吾人の注意をひくものに米國再定住計畫がある。不毛の或は既に其 fertility を失ひつくした地方の農民を收支償ひ得る地方へ移動せしめ或は不景氣のために疲弊せる嶺山地方の悲慘なる生活を立直し得る様に、などの計畫を眼目とせるもので、國情や經濟條件を異にせる我々に直接の參考にならなくても、東北地方と滿蒙を結びつけて考へたりすると、或は些少のヒントなど與へないとも限らないだらうなどと思つて再定住局長タツグウェル氏の論文を載せて置いた。再定住局が例へば一農業地域を買つとする、其處へ不毛な地方の農民五百家族を移動して定住させる、そして直接其農民家族の手で共同組合を設立させる、政府は四、五家宛の家五百軒を立てて貸與する、此集團は此れを一村落として成立つ様にさせ、村の學校、公會堂、散髪屋など總てを備へる、農民は恵まれた地域に移つた後利益が上り始めてから家の建築費を賦割にして返還する——と云ふ様な具合である。

紐育に、マンハッタン區とクイーンズ區とブロンクス區をつなぐ總長二十二哩半の大「橋梁」工事が進捗し始めて居る、陸橋を含んだ橋梁であつて普通の橋と云ふ概念には入らないかも知れないが大工事である事には變りない、そして異色とされて居る計畫は前述の三區から出た橋がランダル島に於て相合して一つの區から他の區へ往復何れもの道が別々に直通して居る事である、云ひ變へれば、往も復も何の區から他の一區へも交通整理の必要なしに直通して走り抜ける事が出来ること云ふ事である。其メカニズムは圖と文と相俟つて御了解を願ひ度い。

出版部は最近毛利氏の「移り行く日本の姿」Bradford Smith 教授の A Handbook of English and American Literature を世に送つて後各方面からの稱讃を博して居る、或人は毛利氏の本を稱して「近來日本に關する著述で此の如く痛快なるものを讀んだ事がない」と云ひ、亦スミス教授の本を評して、或人は「便利此上なき事と且つ書いてある事に絶對の信用を置く事が本書をして近來の好著の一たらしめる」と云つて手紙を寄こして貰つて居る。又清岡氏譯の福翁自傳はオランダの新聞 De Telegraf 紙が一面の大部分を費して批評する所となつた、なかなか面白いので英譯を願つたものを別紙附録で御眼にかける事とした。更に此等の本の後を承けて今月はヘルンの翻譯になるフランス作家の短篇集を二つ送り出さうとして居る、ヘルンが愛好した佛文學上の愛賞すべき名篇でヘルンの名筆を味ひ乍ら佛文學を觀賞出来ること云ふものである。ヘルンの研究家も其他の人士にも御すゝめの出来る新秋の燈火の下親しむべき書物であらう。

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